

A THEORETICAL INTERLUDE

tariat, thus guaranteeing the success of Communist doctrines among the class-conscious workers. On the other hand, improvement and advancement of "co-operative organization among the broad masses of the peasants and handicraftsman" would be "the most reliable way of bringing the Soviet republics of the East into the general system of Soviet economic development/'⁴

Following these instructions some areas of the former tsarist Empire were made not into socialist republics, but into the so-called People's Soviet Republics. This was the case of the People's Republics of Khorezm and Bukhara, which, not being socialist, had temporarily to remain outside the U.S.S.R. when the union was created. As soon, however, as they had reached socialism in their economic development, they were incorporated into the Union as Soviet Socialist Republics.

3. *The Soviet Attitude toward Self-Determination*

The question of the transition from a feudal to a socialist society thus definitely solved, another problem remained to be answered, namely, the problem of national self-determination of colonies and semicolonies. Concretely the issue could be limited to two points: (a) should the Proletarian State grant only a moral support to a revolutionary movement in colonies or should it intervene actively, if necessary with a military force; and (b) should the Proletarian State agree, in the name of national self-determination, to the secession of an oriental, formerly semicolonial area, if the people of that area wished to secede? Both points could, in turn, be narrowed to a single one: should a proletarian revolution be imposed upon a foreign people unready or unwilling to accept it?

The reply that the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist school

gave to this
problem was a positive one: yes, the revolution could
and should be
imposed even if the people concerned did not want it.
This solution
seems to run so definitely counter to the principle of
national self-
determination that some explanation is necessary.
Lenin, it is true,
proclaimed the principle of self-determination,
because he believed
that any struggle for national emancipation
contributed to the
weakening of imperialistic states. Stalin, who
amplified and devel-